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MORALS IN WARTIME

A Radio Discussion by BERNARD LOOMER
WAYNE MCMILLEN *and* W. LLOYD WARNER

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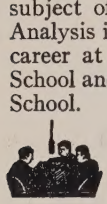
Around the Round Table . . . .

BERNARD LOOMER, assistant professor of philosophy of religion in the Divinity School of the University of Chicago, received his A.B. degree from Bates College (Maine) in 1934. He came to the University of Chicago to do graduate work and there received his Ph.D. degree. His doctoral dissertation was written on the subject of "The Theological Significance of the Method of Empirical Analysis in the Philosophy of A. N. Whitehead." He began his teaching career at the University of Chicago as an instructor in the Divinity School and has recently been appointed Dean of Students in the Divinity School.



WAYNE MCMILLEN, professor of social service administration in the School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago, received his A.B. degree at the State University of Iowa and was granted his Ph.D. degree from the University of Chicago. He spent the year 1917–18 studying at the University of Montpellier in France. Professor McMillen has been a visiting professor at Tulane University and the University of California. Under the first federal relief act, he worked for the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and was in charge of making loans and administering the funds for unemployment relief in six states of the Southwest. His study of transient boys, made for the Department of Labor in 1932, received wide publicity and was used as the basis of much of the work that later developed the CCC and the NYA. Professor McMillen has served as national president of the American Association of Social Workers and is a member of the board of editors of the *Social Service Review* and a frequent contributor to other magazines and journals. He is the author of *Measurement in Social Work* (1931) and collaborated on *Registration of Social Statistics* for 1928 and 1929.

W. LLOYD WARNER, professor of anthropology and sociology at the University of Chicago, did his undergraduate studying at the University of California and his graduate work at Harvard University. Before joining the faculty of the University of Chicago, Professor Warner taught at Harvard University. Under a Rockefeller Foundation grant, he spent three years studying the Australian aborigines. Professor Warner is particularly interested in research on the modern community and at the present time is engaged in studying human development in Illinois communities and in certain industrial communities. He is also collaborating with other members of the Committee on Human Development in a study for the United States Indian Bureau on the personality development of a number of Indian tribes. He is the author of numerous articles and of *Black Civilization* (1937) and the co-author of *Color and Human Nature* (1940). He is also the co-author of *Social Life of the Modern Community* (1941) and *The Status System of the Modern Community* (1942), which are both part of the "Yankee City Series" of which four more volumes will appear at an early date.

MORALS IN WARTIME

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MR. WARNER: Gentlemen, the subject under discussion today is "Morals in Wartime." Everywhere I've been lately I've heard a great deal of discussion about whether our morals have been impaired during this period of crisis. Or, on the other hand, we hear people saying that our morals have been improved.

McMillen, you're a social scientist who has spent a long time in problems of this kind, what would you say people mean when they speak of "morals in wartime"?

MR. MCMILLEN: It seems to me that the average person, when he talks about morals, is thinking about the "thou shalt nots" or thinking about the things in personal conduct that we should not do.

MR. LOOMER: You mean the immoralities?

MR. MCMILLEN: That's right. Things like juvenile delinquency, crime, sexual delinquency, and so on. Would you agree with that definition, Loomer?

MR. LOOMER: I wouldn't have any quarrel with that definition at all. My only concern, however, is to make sure that we realize that there are some other deeper issues involved in this presentation. However, I'll return to those things later.

I'm not a social scientist, and I don't have the facts and figures in these particular questions. You gentlemen, however, are social scientists. In order to start the ball rolling and to have something for you men to kick around, I'll make the statement that, as far as

morals go and in the common-sense meaning of the term, morals in war are no better and no worse than they are in peacetime.

MR. WARNER: What's your opinion of that, McMillen?

MR. MCMILLEN: Let's take up the matter of juvenile delinquency, for example. It's pretty well known, and I think pretty well authenticated, that there has been a very definite and spectacular increase in juvenile delinquency in England. That has led many people to think that perhaps the same thing has occurred in this country. I think what is not so well known is that that increase in juvenile delinquency in England since the outbreak of the war is really only a continuation of a trend that had set in as long ago as 1933. That's been pretty definitely proved by the studies that have been made by the London School of Economics. Do you think that the situation, Warner, in this country is at all comparable with that in England?[1]

MR. WARNER: I think possibly there is a very close parallel. We've had less time for these various things to happen. But I'd like to say that there's an unknown factor never taken into account here. We're always having statistics quoted to us, and we forget that most of our statistics come out of governmental agencies of all sorts and in all places. As the government enters more and more into the private lives of individuals, such as it has in England, we may expect the statistics to rise, because they're more aware of some

[1] It has been reported that in England juvenile delinquency increased as follows:

	Per Cent
Children under 14 years	41
Children 14–17 years	22
Children 17–20 years	5

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of the acts that have occurred that are defined as sexually delinquent. Does that make sense to you?

MR. MCMILLEN: I suppose so, but I think I'd like to point this out with respect to our own situation. The New York State Department of Social Welfare made a study of juvenile delinquency, in which they found that, in thirteen of the counties where there was an expanded population because of war industries, there had been an increase in juvenile delinquency. But, in thirty-nine counties where there had not been an increase in war industries, there was an actual decrease in juvenile delinquency.[2]

MR. LOOMER: That's a pretty good argument for war there, McMillen.

MR. MCMILLEN: No. I don't say that it's an argument for war, but it seems to me that what it does indicate is that there is nothing in this country that would justify anybody in making an assertion that we've had a spectacular increase in juvenile delinquency comparable to what they've had in England.[3]

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[2] For further information see M. C. Hibben, "Juvenile Delinquency," *Editorial Research Reports*, I, No. 8 (February 23, 1943), 131–42.

[3] ". . . . From an analysis of juvenile-court statistics, it has been estimated that approximately 200,000 children come to the attention of juvenile courts each year under ordinary circumstances. Yet juvenile-court records represent only part of the total number of children with behavior problems. From the reports received by the Children's Bureau from nearly 500 juvenile courts, serving areas representing approximately 40 per cent of the total population, it is apparent that the number of delinquency cases dealt with in 1941 increased 6 per cent compared with 1940 for the total group of reporting courts. This was the period of defense preparations and does not reflect the real impact of wartime conditions.

"In preparation for the meeting of the Commission on Children in Wartime, the courts that report to the Children's Bureau were asked to report by telegraph the total number of delinquency cases that they handled in 1942. These data are incomplete but indicate a definite upward trend in cases reaching the courts.

"The sharpest increase, 11.5 per cent, occurred in the courts serving populations of 100,000 or more; the increase in the cases handled by small courts was

MR. WARNER: I'd like to interpose another point here, to emphasize my skepticism about some of the figures that are quoted often in the newspaper and in the pulpit. It seems to me that another unknown factor is simply how the police behave in wartime and how they behave in peacetime.

I've made a number of studies in a number of American communities, and it seems to me it's clearly demonstrable that juvenile delinquency is found only in the lower classes. Yet, when you investigate the acts for which people are brought up as juvenile delinquents, you discover that these acts are committed in all classes. In other words, these people in the lower classes are more vulnerable to the police. Are the police now not more active and a bit more aggressive in wartime than they are in peacetime? I think that's a point that we must consider when we look at these statistics.

MR. LOOMER: You mean that the lower classes can't be protected as well as the upper classes in regard to these juvenile crimes?

MR. WARNER: It means to say that the people in the lower-class families can't protect their children against the police. Therefore, their children are rated as delinquents when they may not be any more delinquent than people in the middle and upper classes.

MR. LOOMER: If we don't have any facts and figures which will prove the case one way or the other in the matter of juvenile delinquency, how about the fact of adult delinquency? Do we come to the same conclusion there?

MR. MCMILLEN: My opinion is that there has been no increase in adult crime; and, in fact, I think that there is evidence to indi-

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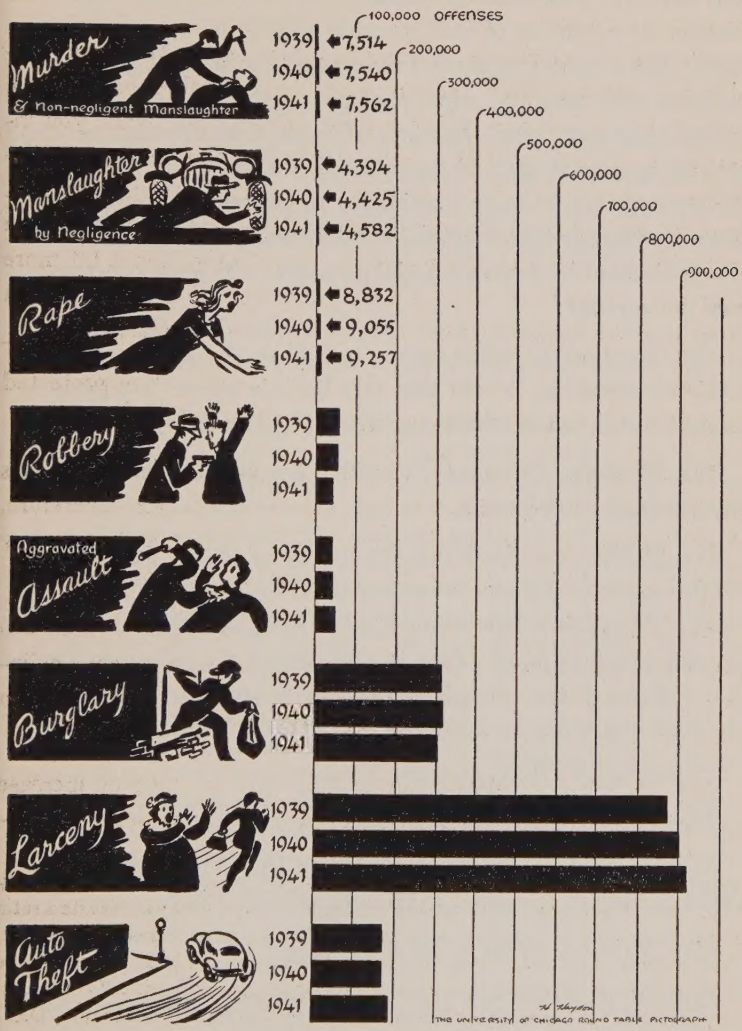
6 per cent. The number of cases of delinquent girls increased much more sharply than those of boys. In normal times the number of cases usually presents a ratio of four boys' cases to one girl's case. In 1942 the boys' cases increased 8 per cent, but the girls' cases increased 31 per cent. The increase in girls' cases, like the total increase, appears to be primarily a problem of the larger cities" (Elsa Castendyck, *Juvenile Delinquency and Resources for Treatment* [Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, March, 1943]).

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF MAJOR CRIMES IN THE UNITED STATES

1938–40



SOURCE: FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

cate that since the war broke out there's been a decrease. Would you agree with that, Warner?

MR. WARNER: I'm heartily in agreement with you. All the figures that I've seen seem to indicate that there has been very little change. As a matter of fact, there is something very interesting there. The people who study the business cycle insist that, as the business cycle goes up, crime goes up; as the business cycle goes down, crime goes down. Now, we all know that the business cycle goes up in time of war. If there hasn't been very much change in the statistics on crime in wartime, it would seem to indicate that there are other factors involved. Possibly war brings in certain kinds of organizations and certain social principles which are operating to hold down crime.

MR. LOOMER: In other words, you have the same conditions, relatively speaking, in war that you have in peace. War only accentuates and focuses these conditions. Is that right?

MR. WARNER: I would say that that is a very fair summary and statement of what I mean.

MR. MCMILLEN: Let's turn for a moment to this matter of sexual delinquency. I'd like to say in answer to your question on that, Loomer, that it's a clandestine kind of thing on which one cannot get any absolute proof. That is, one cannot get facts and figures that will prove that sexual delinquency is better or worse. But I think there are one or two significant points. Would you be interested in hearing them?

MR. LOOMER: Go ahead.

MR. MCMILLEN: I think, for example, that it's rather significant that the May Act has had to be invoked only twice.

MR. WARNER: What is the May Act?

MR. MCMILLEN: The May Act is a federal act which enables the federal government to step into local communities to suppress

prostitution if it proves to be true that the local authorities can't do it. This is limited, of course, only to communities that are adjacent to military and naval stations; but there are dozens and dozens of such communities, and only in two of them has it been necessary to invoke the act.[4]

MR. LOOMER: Isn't it true that in the question of sexual delinquency we have another problem that we have to get at in trying to answer this question—namely, that, in considering sexual delinquency, we have to make clear a distinction between changing moral codes and an underlying, unchanging moral principle by which we judge at any one time whether a situation is moral or immoral?

MR. WARNER: Possibly, Loomer, that's what we mean when we say that the young girls sixteen years of age and even younger, the

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[4] There was "a working agreement between the War and the Navy departments, the Federal Security Agency, and state health authorities, developed in May, 1940, for co-ordinated measures to control the problems of venereal disease and the parent-problem of prostitution in areas where the armed forces and defense workers are concentrated. Later the Social Protection Section of the Federal Security Agency was established to assist local law-enforcement authorities and local welfare agencies in the suppression of prostitution, the rehabilitation of prostitutes, and the prevention of demoralization of girls. This program was looked upon as a public welfare program and not as a moral crusade. But federal legislation was needed to give the proper authority to the efforts to get local authorities to suppress the business of prostitution in military and war-production areas. The May Act, which was signed by the President on July 11, 1941, gave the necessary authority to proceed—an authority, however, not used unless local effort in the suppression of prostitution could not be exerted or is deemed woefully inadequate. More specifically, the May Act makes it unlawful (until May 15, 1945) to conduct the business of prostitution within a reasonable distance of military and naval establishments as deemed necessary to protect members of the Army and Navy by the secretaries of the War and Navy departments. The Act also authorizes the secretaries of the War and Navy departments and the Federal Security Administration to take such steps as are necessary to suppress and prevent the practice of prostitution and to accept co-operation of local authorities in carrying out the purposes of the Act" (Walter C. Reckless, "The Impact of War on Crime, Delinquency, and Prostitution," *American Journal of Sociology*, November, 1942, p. 385).

so-called "victory girls," are really expressing merely a change in our moral code, or is it something else? I wonder if it isn't just something more apparent than real. That is to say, we always have these things going on in our communities, but they aren't so apparent; they aren't so visible to the eye. But in wartime, with the men being segregated in Army camps and so on, any women having social relations or other kinds of relations with these men are much more visible to the people who are responsible for controlling such behavior.

MR. MCMILLEN: But I'd like to remind you that here we are talking about morals in wartime, and I want to quote one other fact that I think has some bearing on it. The Surgeon General of the Navy reported last year that the venereal disease rate of the Navy was the lowest in the entire history of the Navy. Comparable figures are also to be found in the Army.

MR. LOOMER: Of course, this thing could work both ways, McMillen. That set of figures is not conclusive. Would you agree with that?

MR. MCMILLEN: I agree with that.

MR. WARNER: I would wholly agree, Loomer. I think this point goes something like this: Just as we have a technical point concerning the police reporting in juvenile delinquent statistics, so we have a technical point here concerning the prevention of venereal disease. It may be nothing more than a medical fact rather than a moral one.

MR. MCMILLEN: That's right, and it brings me right back to my original point that we can neither prove nor disprove that there has been an increase or decrease in sexual delinquency. But I think there certainly is no basis for saying there has been an increase.

Now, I'd like to shift, for just a moment, if I may, to the fact that I think that there are some evidences that there has been an improvement in moral strength in certain aspects. Would you agree with that, Loomer, or not?

MR. LOOMER: I think on relatively superficial levels that that is true. We can name several instances, such as the blood banks, and the OCD institutions, and war bonds, and so forth.

MR. WARNER: I'd say the fact is generally true. It seems to me that throughout the United States people everywhere are willing to sacrifice. The vast majority of the people are willing to sacrifice their individual selfish interests for the greater good of the greater number.

MR. LOOMER: Look also at the relation between the people going up before the draft boards and look at the work that the draft boards themselves are doing. Furthermore, we don't have the name-calling that was done during the last war, such as slackers, and so forth.

MR. MCMILLEN: And all the volunteer work of the draft boards, too; and the much more reasonable and tolerant way in which we've treated the conscientious objectors. That seems to me important from a moral standpoint.

MR. LOOMER: That's right.

MR. WARNER: I think another very important moral point that is overlooked is the fact that during wartime people's class interests are less clearly drawn out than they are in peacetime, or at least they have been in this present war. They aren't always in all wars. France is a very good example of the contrary. We find out that the fights that once separated management and labor at the present moment aren't separating them the same way. There is a willingness to listen to what is called "reason," which is to say that the greater good is being considered.

MR. MCMILLEN: Yes. It seems to me that there's been less hysteria in terms of painting houses yellow, and the white feather, and so on. But wouldn't you agree with me that what we've been talking about so far relates pretty largely to matters of conduct and that

there is another, and a second major, area to which we should now turn our attention?

MR. LOOMER: Why don't you summarize the first part, though, McMillen, before we go into that?

MR. MCMILLEN: If I were going to summarize the first part, I would say that we do not find any substantial evidence here to indicate that there has been any deterioration of personal conduct in such areas as juvenile delinquency, crime, or sexual delinquency. We don't have positive or definite proof that that is the case; and, on the other hand, we have a good many evidences of the strengthening of the morals in the area of personal sacrifice and work for the common good. Would you agree with that?

MR. WARNER: I think that that is a clear summary of the first portion of our discussion. However, it's quite clear that if we are going to deal with the more important aspects of this subject, we must take up the question of the deeper moral problems in wartime.

Loomer, you're the person who has the greatest specialization in this matter and who has devoted most of his time to this problem. You seem to be the qualified person to open up this discussion of the second part of our broadcast. Won't you tell us what you feel are the deeper moral problems?

MR. LOOMER: I don't know how far we'll get, Warner, but at least now you're talking more down my alley.

On the question of the deeper meaning of the term "morality" in this discussion, I think we have to deal with the fundamental values and principles and conditions in our society that can make life worth the whole price of the struggle. These moral questions are concerned with the basic conditions by which man has dignity and integrity.

Let me put it another way. I would say that the vigor of American society can be preserved only by the widespread sense that high aims are worth while. In the midst of this Easter season, in the midst of so much suffering, sacrifice, and tragedy as this war brings,

it is a good time to point out that the deeper meaning of morals has to do with the justification and realization of aims and values that are worth the suffering, the sacrifice, and the tragedy. For example, I think that there are a great many people, religiously minded, who look upon this war as a judgment of God. In so far as people mean anything significant by this statement I would disagree, for these people forget that peace itself is a judgment of God and that the injustice of the last peace contained within it the seeds of this war. Therefore, the moral problems of the war are basically the same as the moral problems of the peace.

Mr. McMillen: May I interrupt, Loomer, to ask you how you look at the war from your particular approach?

Mr. Loomer: I would look at the war itself as a moral problem, because the war itself shows us what happens when the injustices that are involved in peace are allowed to continue to exist. Secondly, the war is a moral problem because we continue to be faced with the same problems in dealing with these injustices.

The point at this juncture is that this war can be either a crime or a crusade.

Mr. Warner: What do you mean by that? It sounds as though you are in favor of some kind of holy war or that you think this may be a holy war. Is that your meaning?

Mr. Loomer: No, I don't think this could possibly be called a holy war, nor do I think it should be called a holy war.

Mr. Warner: Well, it's a crime.

Mr. Loomer: I think that that depends on how the situation works out. But I would mean that during this war, just as in peacetime, we should try to give our acts a moral significance by striving toward agreed-upon and understood moral objectives.

Concretely, I mean that this war can either expand freedom, justice, and equality or can narrow them. The choice is being made by us right now, either consciously or unconsciously.

Mr. Warner: The thing that bothers me about your statement is that it appears just a bit up in the air. I feel that from my point of view, as a sociologist (I don't know how you feel about it, McMillen), I'd like to get it down to earth—or what seems to be earth to me—and talk about it.

Mr. Loomer: I have no objection to that.

Mr. Warner: I'd like to ask what we mean concretely about the war being a crime or a crusade.

I'd say that it is a crime if we do not gain a better world than we had when we went into this war. Let me be very concrete. I would say that if we don't get a better economic order (and I would be willing to specify), if we don't get a better world political order, if we don't get a better relation between the races, if we don't get a better relation between the various social groups—then on the whole the war has been a failure, and the killing has been wanton and criminal.

Mr. Loomer: Agreed upon.

Mr. McMillen: I would agree with you that perhaps we got into this war because we were attacked, but now that we're into it we'd like to have some moral benefit derived from it if possible. Would you take that to mean, Loomer, that in wartime we can make moral improvements, or must we declare a moratorium on moral improvements until the end of the war?

Mr. Loomer: Before I answer that, let me give you at least my analysis of what the situation is. The answer, I think, follows from that.

It seems to me that we have to realize that many of the people in America have entered this war not from any high moral ideals or aims but from the basic fact that we were attacked—we were attacked by Japan. That is, the unity which we have in this country is a unity that has been forced upon us by a sense of impending peril, and we have a unity which, I am afraid, is a unity only for the duration. As a matter of fact, if our victories continue to improve,

especially in a short space of time, I am afraid that our morale, instead of getting better, will actually get worse. This unity, this superficial unity, may fall aside and lay bare all the basic antagonisms and injustice between classes and races that we have ever had.

Therefore, I say we have only two alternatives—either we are to carry on the task of social reconstruction during the war or we are now preparing the grounds for World War Number Three.

Mr. McMillen: I'd like to agree with that point of view. I think that war creates a kind of unity among the people that we don't have ordinarily in peacetime, and, therefore, war is a good time to try to make moral improvement. I'd like to cite as a specific illustration that they have before them in England the Beveridge Report and that we have a somewhat similar report of the National Resources Planning Board in this country. It seems to me that we shouldn't declare a moratorium on that sort of thing but rather that we ought to try to get them operative at this time when we really have something approaching moral unity.

Mr. Loomer: Absolutely.

Mr. Warner: Gentlemen of the Round Table, I'd certainly agree with you that something should be done at the present time; we should not wait for the future. On the other hand, I think that if we do not consider the future at the present time, if we do not think out how we're going to bring a better world into existence, it may not happen. I would like to suggest that if we do not have a new World Court, a new world policing system, a new world legislative system, to solve these basic conflicts that a man always has, it's very likely we'll be in another war before this generation or the next generation is gone. If this happens, then this war is a crime.

Mr. McMillen: It seems to me that what you're saying sounds as if you think of it in terms of machinery, whereas I think Loomer thinks of it in terms of something moral. Is that right?

Mr. Loomer: That's right. I'm not sure there is a conflict there. I think it's a difference of emphasis.

Mr. Warner: On the contrary, Loomer, I don't think it's a conflict. All I'm saying is that I'd like to be practical about this matter and think in terms of implementation of the sort of moral code that you're talking about for the whole world and for each nation.

Mr. Loomer: I have no quarrel with that whatsoever.

Mr. Warner: I'd like to say one thing further. It seems to me that if we don't permit our technological system to operate, which is now so well organized it can produce for plenty rather than scarcity, if we don't plan so that every nation of the world can get the things it wants, so that all classes can get the things that they want, then it seems to me, again, that this war is a crime and not a crusade.

Mr. Loomer: I'd like to supplement that by one step further. In fact, if we don't have these values realized after the war, we're likely to find people faced with all kinds of moral disillusionment, and psychologically disintegrating forces at work will make us feel not at home in our society, with the result that not only will we lose our democracy but we will have have started to plant the seeds of growing fascism.

Mr. Warner: Loomer, I agree with you very, very much. I feel that very deeply because I remember well, after the last war in Germany, when the whole social structure went to pieces. These people were frustrated. They had no outlet. They had no goals of any kind. As a consequence, one saw in the individual behavior there the kind of phenomena we were speaking about in the first part of our talk here this afternoon. The same thing happened in Vienna. Again there was this complete moral lassitude, simply because the principles of morality were not made manifest in the social structure of these two countries. That was also true to a considerable extent in the United States.

Mr. McMillen: It seems to me that you are pretty well in agreement, because what you're both saying is that war is a good time to make inroads on selfishness by trying to develop a wider

concern for the common good. I'd like to know what becomes at that point of the principle of enlightened self-interest.

MR. LOOMER: I would say that at this particular point the principle of enlightened self-interest has a great deal of relevance, because I look upon this principle as one of the reasons why we are in the situation we are in.

Let me explain what I mean by this principle. By the principle of enlightened self-interest, or one can call it enlightened selfishness, I mean, for example, that I am willing to help you in a certain situation if in the process of helping you I thereby help myself. The extent to which I will help you is limited by the fact that I can see and see only where the return will be for me.

MR. WARNER: Loomer, what are you proposing to substitute in its place?

MR. LOOMER: The only possible substitute for any kind of self-interest is a basic and honest kind of altruism, which is at least to some degree partially realized.

MR. MCMILLEN: It seems to me that there is a kind of an unrealistic element there. That is, I don't see how we can expect to substitute the motive of service for that of self-interest. I think rather that we should try to organize life in such a way that self-interest prompts actions that are of the greatest social service. Would you disagree with that?

MR. WARNER: I find myself very much in agreement with you, McMillen, on this point, I suspect, because we are sociologists and have been making some of these studies on the principles of sociology. It seems to me that all our studies of learning theory and all our studies of society show that man is primarily dominated by egoistic and selfish motives that have been stamped out in part so that he'll learn to collaborate with other people; so that, up until the present moment at least, the whole history of society and the whole history of human development and individual development

TRENDS OF SECURITY·

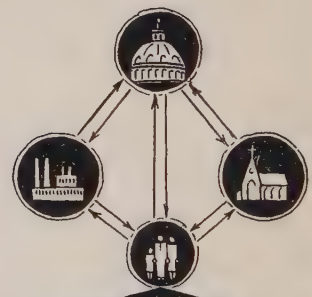
THE FAMILY

WAS ONCE STABLE, STATIC AND GUARANTEED SECURITY FROM BIRTH TO DEATH

IS NOW MOBILE SEPARABLE AND NEGLIGENT OF THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR MEMBERS' SECURITY

THE INDIVIDUAL

THE INDIVIDUAL LOOKED TOWARD CHURCH, MONARCH AND NOBILITY FOR SOCIAL & ECONOMIC SECURITY



TODAY THE CITIZEN HOPES FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SECURITY THRU' DEMOCRATIC DIRECTION OF THE PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH

· BROWNLEE HAYDON · 1939

has been around this point of giving up immediate egoistic goals for less excessive goals and more remote goals.

MR. LOOMER: I would answer bluntly by saying that that is precisely not the point. For example, the doctrine of enlightened self-interest ultimately makes a virtue of necessity. That is, I will give up things to you only when it is to my advantage to do so. Such as in the relations between capital and labor. But the peculiar thing about the doctrine of self-interest is that it is actually a religious creed of businessmen and that in the end it results in being self-defeated.

MR. WARNER: Let me answer you equally bluntly. I would say to you that what you're talking about is a perversion of this whole doctrine of enlightened self-interest. As long as enlightened self-interest really functions so that you have a reciprocal exchange, thereby establishing a justice between the two people or the several people involved, you are likely then to have a world which is well balanced, ordered, and where moral principles are dominant.

MR. MCMILLEN: I wonder if I understand what you're talking about. In order to find out whether I do understand it or not, I'd like to give what I think would be an illustration of what you're saying. In the cultural or educational field, for example, it would be to our self-interest to try to spread education throughout the other countries of the world.

MR. WARNER: Why?

MR. MCMILLEN: Because we have to have contacts with them in the future, and it's important that we be on a level where we can discuss things on equal terms. Would that be an illustration of what you are talking about?

MR. WARNER: Decidedly for me.

I'd like to give another one, if you don't mind, gentlemen. I'd like to say that this also follows on the racial level. It seems to me that it is the very epitome of enlightened self-interest that we see to it that all the races of the world, whether they be light or dark,

or green or brown, get the same opportunities that all other races have. It's up to us as white men to recognize that the dominance of the white man is over and that we have to permit the dark-skinned races to have their time and their place in the world society.

MR. LOOMER: I don't quarrel with that at all, but I merely point out to you the fact that, as you men say, the doctrine of enlightened self-interest is a fundamental drive among people and go on to point out that one of the reasons we are in the situation we are in is because we would only enter this war and only come to the defense of other countries when our own self-interest was affected. We almost arrived too late. It was a question almost of having too little and being there too late.

MR. MCMILLEN: But since these egoistic impulses are really biologically inherent, and since we can't survive without them, don't you think that what we have to do is not to supplant them or to try to do away with them entirely but to educate them and then balance them with this principle of altruism of which you're speaking?

MR. LOOMER: To some degree, but I would also hold that you can never derive altruism from any kind of self-interest, regardless of how refined and sophisticated you make the self-interest.

MR. WARNER: That raises a very serious problem to me. I'm one of these fellows who probably thinks down on too low a level, too near the floor, but how do you derive the principle of altruism from any other source except the sources of enlightened self-interest?

MR. LOOMER: I would say that that was a play upon words, for you derive the sources of altruism from the same biological specimen that you derive the sources of self-interest.

MR. WARNER: You mean to say that man by very nature, by very biologic nature, has altruistic impulses?

MR. LOOMER: Absolutely.

MR. WARNER: There I disagree.

Mr. Loomer: Let's go on to what I think is another basic issue involved in this particular war. I would say that one of the reasons we are in the situation we are in is because we have substituted material goals and material values in the place of moral goals. Let me state what I mean rather briefly. We have summed up the basic problem of life as being one of production and consumption, essentially. That is, we have made a standard of living a god. We have dealt with the acquisition and the protection of the niceties and the comforts of our standard of living, and we've been concerned pretty much with the mechanical progress of man. I would even go so far as to say that in many cases we have preferred peace to a certain concern for justice.

Mr. McMillen: As I gather it, what you're saying is that the maintenance of the American standard of living cannot and must not be our guiding concern as we emerge from the war. Would you agree with that, Warner?

Mr. Warner: No, I would not agree with that. If we accept that very broad and very drastic principle to regulate our lives and to regulate our policies after the war, it seems to me that we're going to set up a moral standard that is far too high for any American—I don't care who he is—to live up to. That is likely to lead to even worse results than we have at the present time. I know, Loomer, you wouldn't agree with that, would you?

Mr. Loomer: That's right.

Mr. McMillen: What Warner is talking about, as I understand it, is the psychology of the attainable goal. Do you think that that's a false doctrine?

Mr. Loomer: No, but I do not think that it goes far enough. For example, we hear a great deal of talk these days about how we're going to trade with other nations after the war is over. We say that we will not trade with those nations which can produce goods at a cheaper cost in the labor market than we can. We say that if we import those goods, we'll destroy our standard of living.

I think that that's precisely the sort of thing we have to avoid, because the moral justice is not to be equivalent or taken as being synonymous with material justice.

MR. WARNER: I find myself believing that this sort of policy, or these principles, should guide us after the war, and even now for that matter: It should be a combination of enlightened self-interest with a fair percentage of altruism. If you ask me to give the percentages, I would say: Let's have two-thirds self-interest and one-third altruism. I believe that if we don't do that, we're headed for trouble and headed for trouble very fast.

MR. LOOMER: In other words, not only is it a question of a quart of milk for every Hottentot but it's a question of a certain basic justice for every Hottentot?

MR. WARNER: With that I fully agree.

MR. LOOMER: Let me summarize this last discussion of ours by saying that fundamentally we are in agreement that we must do something about social reconstruction during this war; that, if we don't, we are in grave danger of losing the values and principles of our democracy—values and principles which we all adhere to and which we would like to see extended to the four corners of the earth.

We disagree upon which principles we should emphasize. I tend to emphasize the fact of altruism and the need for altruism. Warner and McMillen tend to emphasize the need for the training and the education of enlightened self-interest.

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More on This Topic

AGAR, HERBERT, "The Quest for Equality," *Survey Graphic*, November, 1942. *The ideal of equality is a basic moral issue of the present war.*

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, "The Church and the Social Crisis," *Christian Century*, October 7, 1942. *States principles which should govern the ordering of society.*

BURGESS, ERNEST W., "The Effect of War on the American Family," *American Journal of Sociology*, November, 1942. *Says that the more profound effects of the war upon the family include intensification of the trend toward the companionship type of family; a further rise in the status of women; further losses of family function; further liberalization of the code of sexual morality; and an increase in family instability.*

HIGH, STANLEY, "What, Then, Should the Church Do?" *Christian Century*, September 23, 1942. *Says that the church has the moral obligation to support the war more actively than it is doing.*

"An Isolationist Reaction?" *Fortune*, April, 1943. *Says the war has thus far evoked a more selfish, nationalistic, and conservative attitude on the part of the American people.*

JOHNSON, F. ERNEST, "The Impact of the War on Religion in America," *American Journal of Sociology*, November, 1942. *States that a deepened spiritual mood is in evidence.*

NIEBUHR, REINHOLD, "Faith for History's Greatest Crisis," *Fortune*, July, 1942. *An analysis of the relation of the Christian faith to the realities of twentieth-century economic and political change.*

RECKLESS, WALTER C., "The Impact of War on Crime, Delinquency, and Prostitution," *American Journal of Sociology*, November, 1942. *States that there has been only a slight increase in crimes known to the police, that statistics do not confirm an expected rise in juvenile delinquency, and that open prostitution has not been allowed to flourish.*

VAN URK, J. BLAN, "Norfolk—Our Worst War Town," *American Mercury*, February, 1943. *Reports on the problem of immorality in a war boom town.*

What Do *You* Think?

1. In your opinion has there been any change in moral standards as a result of the war? Do you think that moral standards are looser now than they were before the war? Or would you agree that, "as far as morals go, in the common-sense meaning of the term, morals are no better and no worse than they are in peacetime"?

2. Do you think that war has weakened the stability of family life? Or has it strengthened family ties?

3. Is there an increased juvenile delinquency problem in your community? What are the causes of juvenile delinquency? What efforts are being made and should be made in your community to meet this problem?

4. Why is it necessary to make a "distinction between changing moral codes and an underlying, unchanging moral principle, by which we judge at any one time whether a situation is moral or immoral"? Discuss.

5. Do you agree that the war itself is a moral problem? Why? Discuss the problem of attempting to give your acts a moral significance in wartime.

6. Do you agree that the war can be either a crime or a crusade? What action is necessary to prevent the war from becoming a "crime" (in the sense that the speakers are using "crime")?

7. What is the doctrine of enlightened self-interest? Why does it have general acceptance in American society? What are its limitations? Is it an adequate moral principle to use as a basis for a peace with justice? Discuss.

The People Say....

The following letters are representative of the views expressed by the ROUND TABLE *audience on "What about the Trade Agreements?" broadcast April 18, 1943.*

*

Full Employment Important

.... Full employment is the main solution to a natural foreign trade. Not by Argentina's making just woolen clothes and shoes, but by Argentina's working toward a balanced economy of making everything needed or used by her. If all the nations do this, then when Argentina found it necessary or desirable to import raw materials or products which she herself could not dig or raise, the nations from which she imported them would want her to export to them manufactured goods equal to the raw material or products she receives from them, to be used by those of their people to live on. If they did not get such manufactured goods, their standard of living would be equally less.—*A listener from Springfield, Illinois.*

*

Representative in Foreign Country

.... This is a textile and shoe city. In the thirties competitive Japanese handerkerchiefs sold here at retail for less money than the textile manufacturers could manufacture them, and Czechoslovakian shoes sold at retail here for less money than our shoe manufacturers could manufacture these shoes.

What about the devaluation of those trade agreement countries' money? Are we to have another Skoda Armament Works to make arms to use on us and Japanese guns to make possible another Bataan?

Maybe somebody in the ROUND TABLE discussion group would like to inform me and the public why our government doesn't have a representative in the foreign countries that we have reciprocal trade agreements with to let our government know whether their standard of living is being raised or not on account of these trade agreements. —*A listener from Manchester, New Hampshire.*

*

Unity Needed

.... I was glad to find that you all agreed on the importance of the Hull trade treaties' being renewed. I hope the Senate and the House will give a speedy and overwhelming vote to this effect, so that the nations who are at present our enemies will not feel that we are divided on this matter, as we are on so many others.—*A listener from Brookline, Massachusetts.*

*

Barter Exchange

In the ROUND TABLE discussion last Sunday, the speakers would not touch

on the means of relief—namely, barter exchange with all foreign nations. Like all the questions discussed, the speakers evade the truth, disagree with each other, and thus leave the people without any information of value on the question discussed. Educators should agree on the *truth* and thus establish a record of value. That would aid in correct opinion formation. . . . .—*A listener from St. Petersburg, Florida.*

*

International Bankers

. . . . One speaker made a good point when he thought full employment at home would solve the question in the best interests of the United States. That should be our first duty to the American public. I have often raised the question about why so much concern over our foreign trade which creates so much competition, and competition results in war. . . . . If the money barons were forced into the front lines of battle, there would be no more wars—which fact should not be overlooked by those who seek to create a warless world. Japan, Germany, Russia, and the United States cannot carry on war without financial aid. The international bankers are ready at any time to finance war, for war adds billions to their ill-gotten gains. . . . .—*A listener from Los Angeles, California.*

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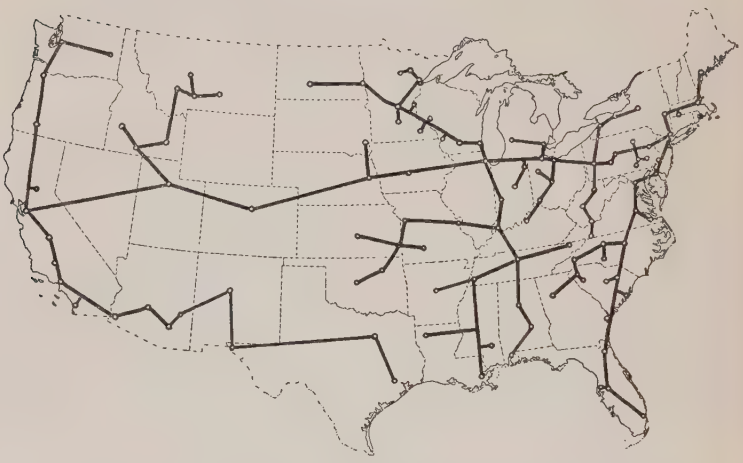

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2:00 P.M. EASTERN WAR TIME

City	*Call Letters*	*Kilo-cycles*	*City*	*Call Letters*	*Kilo-cycles*
Allentown, Pa.	WSAN	1470	Martinsville, Va.	WMVA	1450
Altoona, Pa.	WFBG	1340	Miami, Fla.	WIOD	610
Asheville, N.C.	WISE	1400	New York, N.Y.	WEAF	660
Atlanta, Ga.	WSB	750	Norfolk, Va.	WTAR	790
Bluefield, W.Va.	WHIS	1440	Philadelphia, Pa.	KYW	1060
Boston, Mass.	WBZ	1030	Pittsburgh, Pa.	KDKA	1020
Charleston, S.C.	WTMA	1250	Portland, Me.	WCSH	970
Charleston, W.Va.	WGKV	1490	Providence, R.I.	WJAR	920
Charlotte, N.C.	WSOC	1240	Raleigh, N.C.	WPTF	680
Cincinnati, Ohio	WLW	700	Reading, Pa.	WEEU	850
Clarksburg, W.Va.	WBLK	1400	Richmond, Va.	WMBG	1380
Cleveland, Ohio	WTAM	1100	Rochester, N.Y.	WHAM	1180
Columbia, S.C.	WIS	560	Savannah, Ga.	WSAV	1340
Detroit, Mich.	WWJ	950	Springfield, Mass.	WBZA	1030
Florence, S.C.	WOLS	1230	Springfield, Ohio	WIZE	1340
Grand Rapids, Mich.	WOOD	1300	Syracuse, N.Y.	WSYR	570
Greenville, S.C.	WFBC	1330	Tampa, Fla.	WFLA	970
Greenwood, S.C.	WCRS	1450	Toledo, Ohio	WSPD	740
Jacksonville, Fla.	WJAX	930	Washington, D.C.	WRC	980
Johnstown, Pa.	WJAC	1400	Williamsport, Pa.	WRAK	1400
Harrisburg, Pa.	WKBO	1230	Wilmington, Del.	WDEL	1150
Lakeland, Fla.	WLAK	1340	Winston-Salem, N.C.	WSJS	600
Lima, Ohio	WLOK	1240	York, Pa.	WORK	1350

1:00 P.M. CENTRAL WAR TIME

City	Call Letters	Kilocycles	City	Call Letters	Kilocycles
Birmingham, Ala.	WBRC	960	Louisville, Ky.	WAVE	970
Bismark, N.D.	KFYR	550	Madison, Wis.	WIBA	1310
Chicago, Ill.	WMAQ	670	Mankato, Minn.	KYSM	1230
Dallas, Texas	WFAA	820	Memphis, Tenn.	WMC	790
Des Moines, Iowa	WHO	1040	Mobile, Ala.	WALA	1410
Duluth, Minn., and Superior, Wis.	WEBC	1320	Montgomery, Ala.	WSFA	1440
Eau Claire, Wis.	WEAU	1070	Nashville, Tenn.	WSM	650
El Paso, Texas	KSTM	1380	New Orleans, La.	WSMB	1350
Evansville, Ind.	WGBF	1280	Oklahoma City, Okla.	WKY	930
Fargo, N.D.	WDAY	970	Omaha, Neb.	WOW	590
Fort Wayne, Ind.	WOWO	1190	Rochester, Minn.	KROC	1340
Hattiesburg, Miss.	WFOR	1400	St. Cloud, Minn.	KFAM	1450
Hibbing, Minn.	WMFG	1240	Shreveport, La.	KTBS	1480
Houston, Texas	KPRC	950	Sioux Falls, S.D.	KSOO	1140
Indianapolis, Ind.	WIRE	1430	Springfield, Mo.	KGBX	1260
Kansas City, Mo.	WDAF	610	Terre Haute, Ind.	WBOW	1230
Kingsport, Tenn.	WKPT	1400	Tulsa, Okla.	KVOO	1170
La Crosse, Wis.	WKBH	1410	Virginia, Minn.	WHLB	1400
Little Rock, Ark.	KARK	920	Wichita, Kan.	KANS	1240

12:00 M. MOUNTAIN WAR TIME

Albuquerque, N.M.	KOB	1030	Phoenix, Ariz.	KTAR	620
Billings, Mont.	KGHL	790	Pocatello, Ida.	KSEI	930
Boise, Ida.	KIDO	1380	Safford, Ariz.	KGLU	1450
Bozeman, Mont.	KRBM	1450	Salt Lake City, Utah	KDYL	1320
Butte, Mont.	KGIR	1370	Tucson, Ariz.	KVOA	1290
Denver, Colo.	KOA	850	Twin Falls, Ida.	KTFI	1270
Helena, Mont.	KPFA	1240	Yuma, Ariz.	KYUM	1240

11:00 A.M. PACIFIC WAR TIME

Bakersfield, Cal.	KERN	1410	Sacramento, Cal.	KFBK	1530
Fresno, Cal.	KMJ	580	San Diego, Cal.	KFSD	600
Los Angeles, Cal.	KFI	640	San Francisco, Cal.	KPO	680
Medford, Ore.	KMED	1440	Seattle, Wash.	KOMO	950
Portland, Ore.	KGW	620	Spokane, Wash.	KHQ	590

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Buffalo, N.Y.	WBEN	930	Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minn.	KSTP	1500
Columbus, Ohio	WCOL	1230	St. Louis, Mo.	KSD	550
Milwaukee, Wis.	WTMJ	620	Schenectady, N.Y.	WGY	810
Minneapolis, Minn.	WLB	770			

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Anchorage, Alaska	KFQD	790	Juneau, Alaska	KINY	1450
Fairbanks, Alaska	KFAR	610	Ketchikan, Alaska	KTAN	930

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MAY 2, 1943

THE FUTURE OF EMPIRE

•

J. DONALD KINGSLEY, formerly of Department of Political Science, Antioch College

ARTHUR P. SCOTT, Department of History, University of Chicago

(THIRD PARTICIPANT TO BE ANNOUNCED)

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SUGGESTED READINGS

DAVIS, FORREST, "Roosevelt's World Blueprint," *Saturday Evening Post*, April 10, 1943.

HUXLEY, JULIAN, "Colonies in a Changing World," *Free World*, September, 1942.

REVES, EMERY, "Should the British Empire Be Broken Up?" *American Mercury*, May, 1943.

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